

# Oudenaarde 1708 battlefield survey November 2007

## Initial analysis of early modern bullets

### Introduction

The small scale pilot project was undertaken to establish whether, within the area currently accepted as the site of the battle, significant unstratified archaeological evidence exists. The work was conducted on the 8<sup>th</sup> – 10<sup>th</sup> November 2007 by the Battlefields Trust survey team, directed by Glenn Foard, in collaboration with archaeologists from the Enneam Centre and with the assistance of Erik Waulters and Phillipe Levrau. The work was observed by an archaeologist from the Flemish Antiquities Service.

### Background

|                    |  |
|--------------------|--|
| <b>Battle:</b>     | Oudenaarde   |
| <b>Date:</b>       | 11 July 1708.  |
| <b>Location:</b>   | The town lies on the river Scheldt, 19 miles south-west of Ghent and 37 miles west of Brussels. The battlefield area lies north of the town. |
| <b>War:</b>        | The War of the Spanish Succession;   |
| <b>Campaign:</b>   | Netherlands Campaign of 1708   |
| <b>Object:</b>     | Marlborough was trying to regain the territorial losses of early 1708 by forcing action on the French army.                                  |
| <b>Sides:</b>      | The Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene leading the Allied army. Marshal Vendome and the Duke of Burgundy commanding the French.           |
| <b>Forces:</b>     | Allies: 85 battalions; 150 squadrons. Total: 80,000.<br>French: 90 battalions; 170 squadrons. Total: 85,000.                                 |
| <b>Casualties:</b> | Allies: 4,000 killed and wounded.<br>French: 15,000 French casualties, including some 9,000 prisoners.                                       |
| <b>Result:</b>     | A heavy defeat for the French which ultimately led to the Allied recapture of Ghent and Bruges and the fall of Lille.                        |

### Methodology

The methodology for the Oudenaarde survey was based upon that applied in the Edgehill battlefield survey.<sup>1</sup> Detectors used in the survey were all [Minelab](#) machines: D Beaumont: [Explorer Se](#); Glenn Foard: [Explorer II](#); Lee Macfarlane: [X-terra](#); Bryn Gethin: [Quattro](#).

In each field transects are laid out 10m intervals aligned parallel to the most convenient field boundary. Each detectorist made a single traverse across the field along a survey transect, when reaching the end of the field they then moved on to the

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<sup>1</sup> Foard, 2008

next un-worked transect to return. The reconnaissance speed was circa 12m per minute, excluding digging time. This was intended to provide a consistent sample of the artefacts across the survey area. GPS units were attached to the stem of each detector to log the detector location every 15 seconds, providing a detailed record of the intensity of survey coverage, as well as to record the location of each artefact recovered.

Detecting was undertaken in discrimination mode to recover only non-ferrous artefacts as the primary objective of the survey was to recover the distribution of lead bullets. These artefacts were separately bagged when found and the GPS used to record a 'waypoint'. The finds bags were annotated with the detectorist's initials and the waypoint number so that it can later be correlated with the GPS data downloaded into the GIS. Brief notes were made as to the land use, soil conditions of the field, weather and other information relevant for the understanding of the effectiveness of the detecting on each field on each day. These records have been submitted as part of the digital archive of the project.

The GPS data was downloaded into MapInfo GIS using GPSUtility download software, with separate files, one for waypoints and another for tracks, each recorded against the detectorist's name. These txt files are supplied with the digital archive. The waypoint data has been correlated with the finds, once washed and re-bagged, and a finds number allocated and the data entered onto the GIS and the find number and a locational reference added to the bag. The GIS finds data set is presented as part of the digital archive.

Except where the artefacts were found to be fragile all the finds were cleaned by gently brushing with a soft toothbrush in water to ensure removal of soil. Each artefact, when fully dry, has been stored in a sealable bag, pierced towards the top to enable air circulation, and with a 3mm thick square of plastozote foam to provide protection and to enable the bags to be stored standing upright. The white write-on strips will be marked with Staedtler Lumocolor permanent Art Nr 313-5 black pens 0.4mm. Tyvek labels have been placed in each bag and marked with the find number, date, finder and GPS waymark number, using Sakura (XSDK005#49) 0.20mm pen. The individual artefacts are not marked.

The non-bullet finds have not been analysed. The lead bullets have been subject to a rapid assessment and cataloguing. That catalogue is provided as a Word document. A full analysis of and reporting on the bullets was not considered necessary to fulfil the requirements of the pilot project but should a full survey be initiated then a comprehensive analysis of each bullet would be required. The present summary report reviews the character of the bullet assemblage and presents the overall distribution in GIS but this data will need to be presented against a background of modern digital mapping of the landscape by the ENAME Centre team to complete the report as this digital data was not available in the compiling of the present report.

## **Bullet analysis**

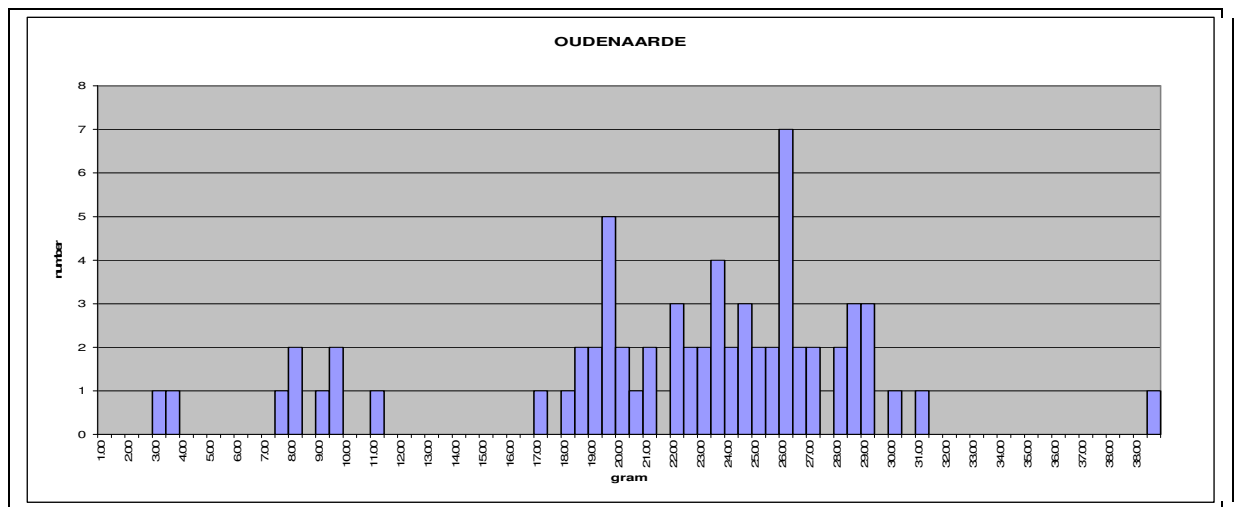
A total of 61 certain and 6 possible bullets were recovered. The calibre of the bullet assemblage has been summarised in a graph at 0.5g interval. This demonstrates a

number of discrete bores of weapon were in use but no attempt has been made to correlate the peaks on the graph with particular classes of weapons. However comparison with the evidence from the 1642 battle of Edgehill shows that Oudenaarde has a very different calibre signature, with an absence of larger musket calibres. It may in future be possible to some degree to distinguish the bullets fired by different armies, but this cannot be assessed at present because no comparative data for French or allied armies from the early 18<sup>th</sup> century are currently available from other battle or siege sites, nor unfired bullet assemblages from excavation of magazines. The nearest comparative data set is that from the Ballymore siege site in Ireland from 1690 but this also shows almost no correlation with the Oudenaarde graph.

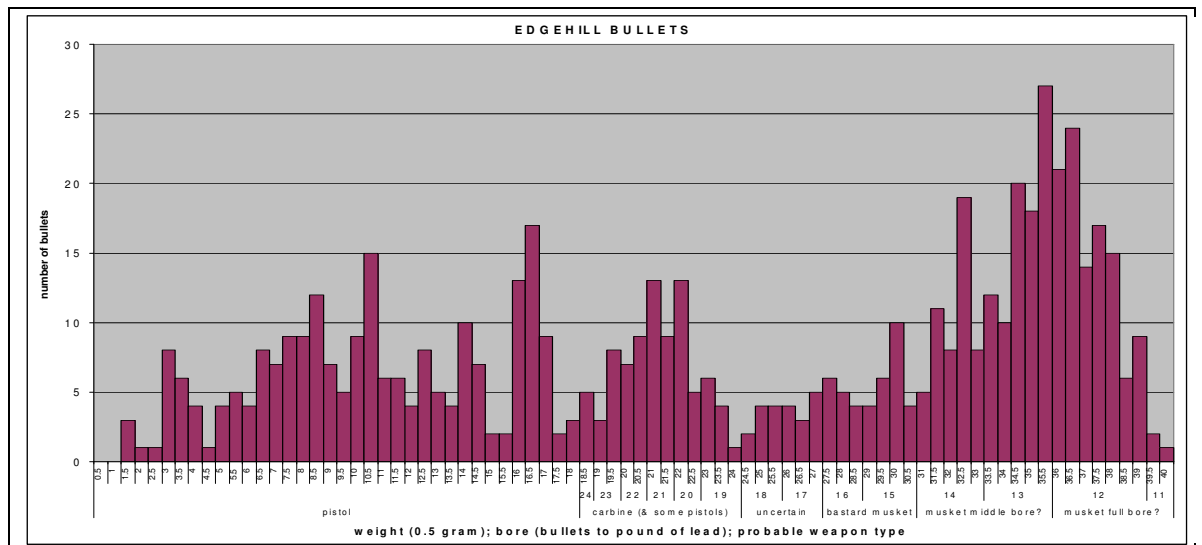
Many of the bullets show a high degree of masking of attributes of manufacture and use due to thick lead carbonate corrosion deposits and in a limited number of bullets a substantial degree of erosion of these deposits and occasionally fragmentation of the bullet surface. The general lack of manufacturing details of sprue location and mould line mean that accurate linear measurement of calibre of bullets will be difficult because the bullets cannot be correctly orientated to distinguish width from depth. In addition the relatively high proportion of bullets showing major or massive impact damage means that a significant number can only be measured for weight. IN addition with some there may have been significant weight loss as a result of spalling on impact and so the massively impacted balls may not yield representative weights of the original munition and so these could be isolated in the examination of the calibres present, but this would only be worthwhile with a large assemblage and as part of a full battlefield study.

The degree of major or massive impact damage is unusually high compared to other sites studied while the frequency of impact cuts and the number of superimposed cuts seen on some bullets is also exceptionally high. This implies ground conditions at the time of the battle dissimilar to those seen on the other battlefields studied. With microscopic examination the presence of embedded grains of soil or stone might enable the nature of the surface, whether ploughed or vegetation covered, to be determined in part or all of the site. However this will require more extensive experimental research on impact evidence than has so far been conducted.

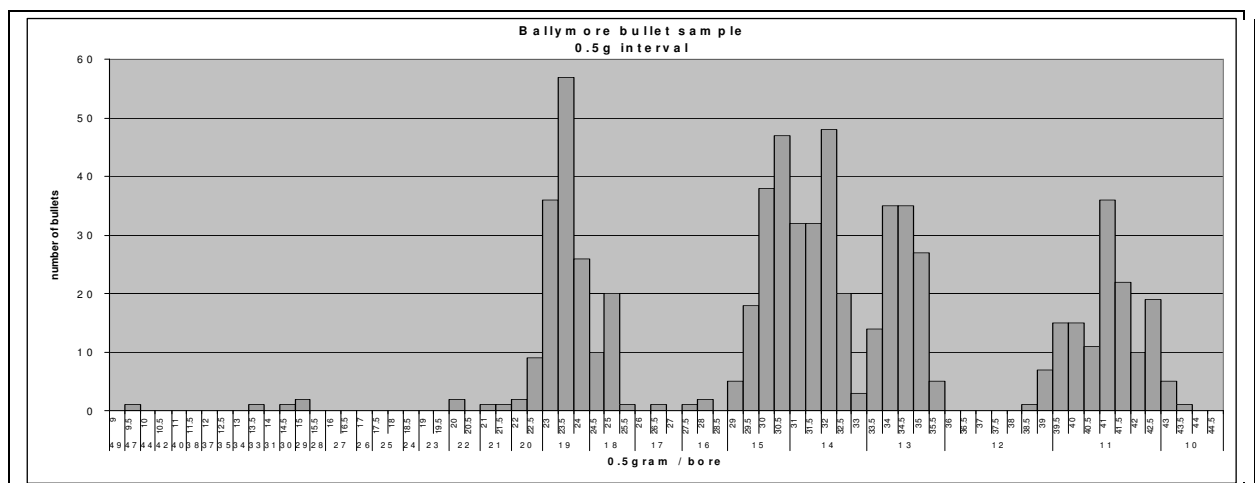
A relatively small number of bullets are in poor to bad condition as a result of erosion or fragmentation, which will have led to limited weight loss impacting on the calibre measurement. However the majority of the bullets are only in fair condition and the masking of detail by the thick corrosion deposits will limit the scale of analysis possible in the assemblage. This may however be to a considerable extent offset by the fact that there is such a high degree of very clear impact damage, enabling fired bullets to be in most cases distinguished from potentially unfired bullets. Something that on many other battlefields is dependent on the identification of firing evidence.



**Figure 1: Oudenaarde 2007 calibre graph showing the number of bullets at 0.5g interval revealing several distinct bullet sizes in use**



**Figure 2: Comparative calibre graph at 0.5g interval - Edgehill (1642, England) battlefield survey 2004-7**

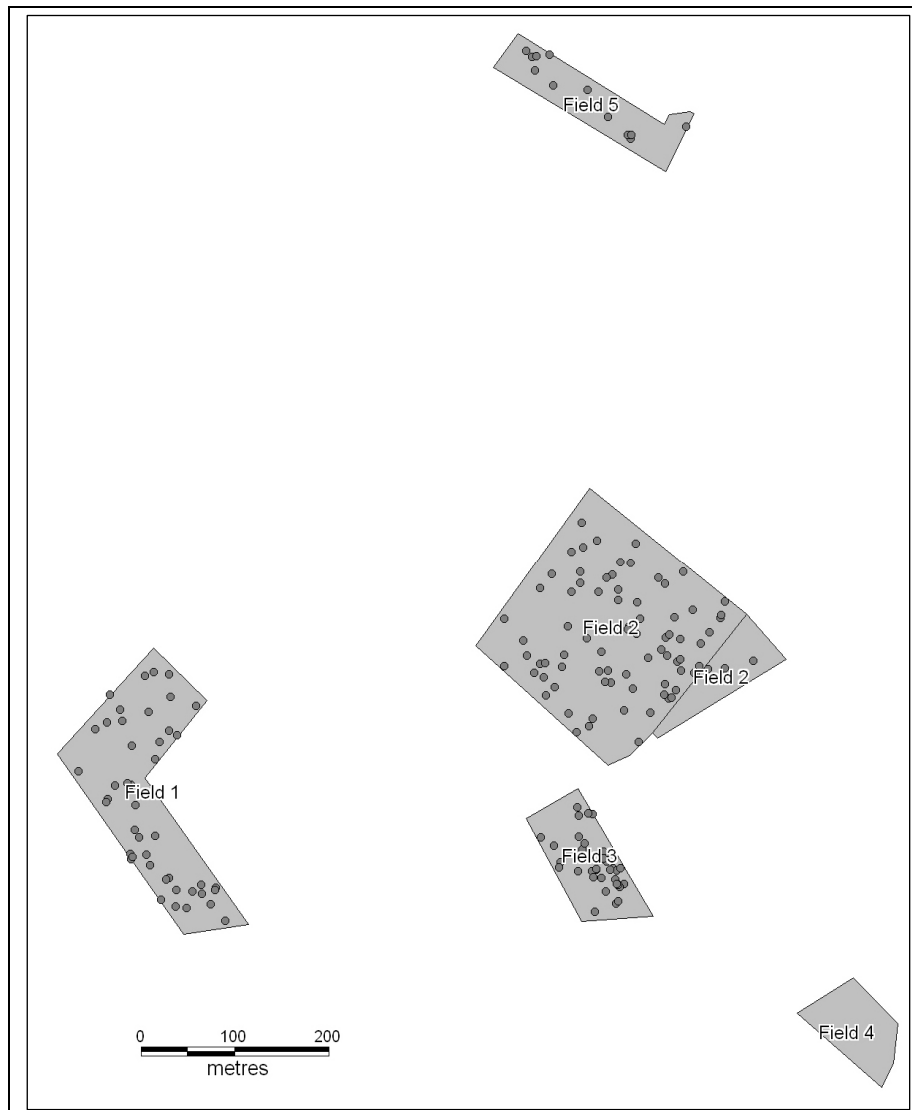


**Figure 3: Comparative calibre graph - Ballymore (Ireland 1690) siege site magazine assemblage**

## Spatial patterning

Only a relatively small area was sampled and this scattered widely across the battlefield. Thus meaningful patterning should not be expected. However certain broad variations can be seen. The absence of finds in Field 4 is explained by the presence of modern disturbance, a 20<sup>th</sup> century farm having been demolished here and so not representative of the overall patterning.

*Note: all data is georeferenced and can be superimposed on to a digital map base but this was not available when the present report was compiled.*

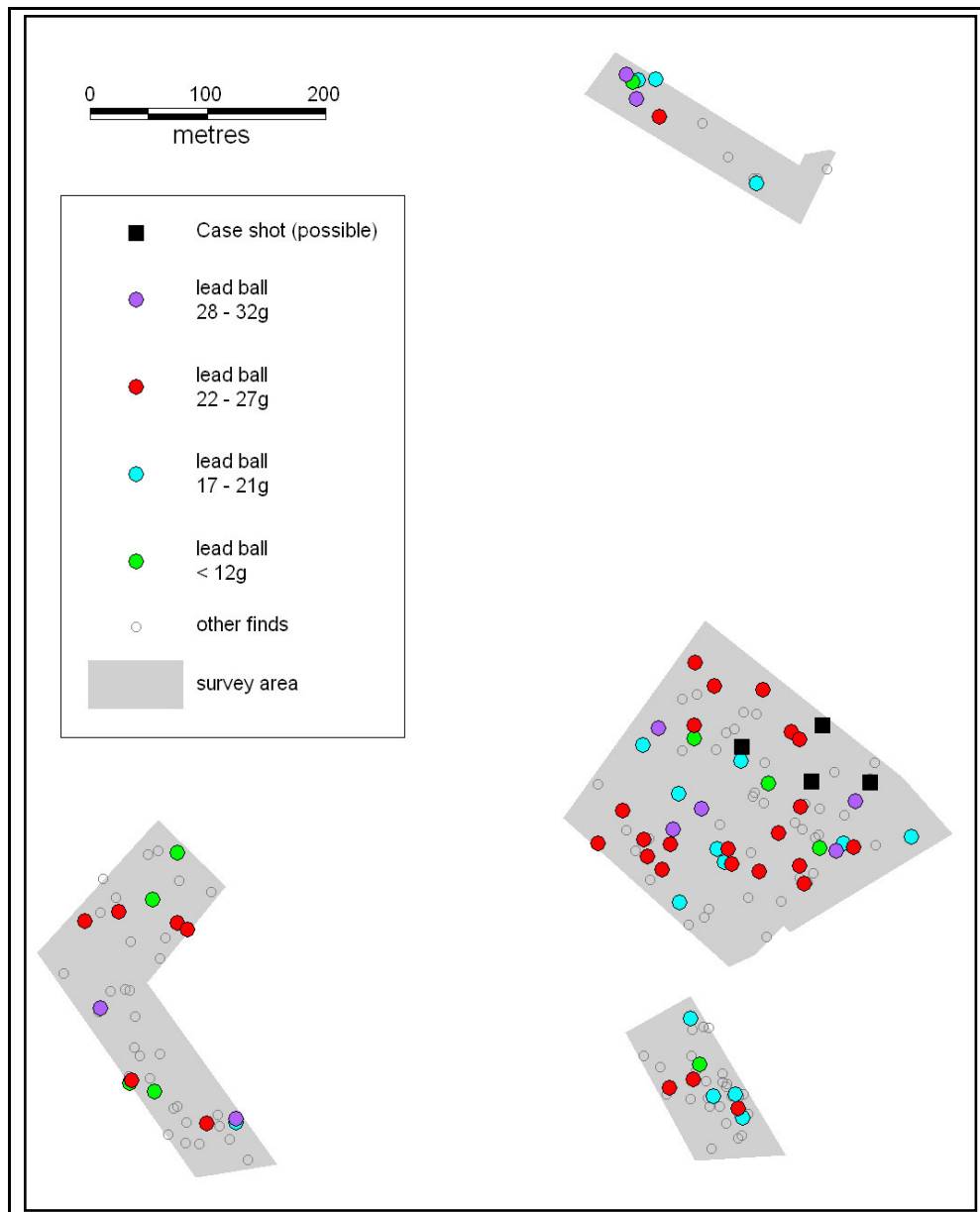


**Figure 4: Survey areas with distribution of all finds**



**Figure 5: Bullet distribution compared to all other finds**

The bullets do not show a very distinct variation in density of distribution when all viewed together as a class. However there are potentially significant variations when the calibre graph is used to divide the assemblage into potentially meaningful groups as presented in figure 6. Here there is a trace of east-west bands of 22-27 gram bullets. Also of particular interest is the way in which the four bullets identified as problematic but possibly representing case shot, are found in a cluster in field 2, tending to support the very tentative case shot identification.



**Figure 6: variation in distribution of calibres and types**

## Conclusions

The recovery of 61 certain and 6 possible bullets confirmed the presence of battle archaeology in the areas sampled. The small scale sampling has demonstrated that distinctive calibres of bullet are distinguishable in the calibre graph and that these grouping may yield significant patterning across the battlefield. The presence of bullets which may represent case shot fired by artillery, if confirmed by further work, would be particularly valuable in interpreting the deployments and action. However it must be noted that some limitations in bullet analysis are likely as a result of the bullets not surviving in the best of condition, though this would not preclude a meaningful study.

Discussion with various local residents also revealed that recreational metal detecting has taken place and continues on the battlefield but the scale of that activity and the

degree of damage caused to the all important patterning of the bullet distribution has not been determined. The present study suggests that sufficient numbers of artefacts survive to enable meaningful results to be achieved but that continued loss to non-archaeological recovery will progressively erode the evidence.

## BULLET CATALOGUE

The terminology used here is broadly that defined in the Edgehill battlefield study but the full range of classification and analysis used there has not been applied in this rapid assessment.<sup>2</sup>

*(Note: An error has been noted in the find number on the bags and GIS record for some artefacts. All find numbers have been amended with a decimal but the finds bag numbering needs to be correlated to the GIS file, bullet catalogue and Excel weight spreadsheet, with reference to the date, finder name and waymark number as recorded on the find bags. This is best done with ALL the finds bags available)*

| FIND NO | IMPACT EVIDENCE  | FIRING EVIDENCE    | CONDITION  | MANUFACTURE                         | WEIGHT (gram) |
|---------|--|--------------------|--|-------------------------------------|---------------|
| 1       | Major: distorted sphere; cuts some superimposed  | Double band        | Fair: thick corrosion; slight erosion  | Sprue snip up; mould ridge          | 25.37         |
| 7       | <i>Probable bullet: Massive: sphere distortion ODD</i>   |                    | <i>Fair: thick corrosion; slight erosion</i>   |                                     | 18.76         |
| 8       | NONE   | UNCERTAIN IF FIRED | Bad: thin corrosion; bobbles of deep corrosion and some fragmentation and deep pitting |                                     | 20.58         |
| 12      | Massive: irregular facet; many cuts  |                    | Fair: thick corrosion; slight erosion  |                                     | 23.7          |
| 18      | Massive: irregular facet; deep gouge   |                    | Fair: thick corrosion; slight erosion  |                                     | 26.58         |
| 22      | Minor: irregular facets probably from impact<br>DIFFICULT  |                    | Fair: thick corrosion; erosion   |                                     | 7.87          |
| 25      | Massive: concave irregular facet; cuts   |                    | Fair: thick corrosion; erosion   |                                     | 17.43         |
| 36      | <i>Possible bullet: Massive: extreme melt with striation and loss of form: possibly wood impact?</i> |                    | <i>Fair: thick corrosion; slight erosion</i>   |                                     | 19.28         |
| 37      | Minor: cuts  |                    | Fair: thick corrosion; erosion; fragmenting;   | Sprue snip down; latitudinal lines; | 21.46         |
| 39      | Major: cuts, many; distorted sphere  |                    | Fair: thick corrosion; slight erosion  |                                     | 24.53         |
| 40      | Minor: Cuts;   |                    | Fair: thick corrosion;   |                                     | 26.37         |



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|     | gouges   |   | slight erosion   |   |       |
| 41  | <i>Possibly a bullet<br/>Massive</i>                       |   | <i>Poor: thick corrosion,<br/>eroding and<br/>fragmenting</i>      |   | 8.03  |
| 42  | Minor: cuts;<br>slight gouges                              | Slight band   | Fair: thick corrosion;<br>slight erosion                           |   | 23.75 |
| 43  | Minor: Cuts; deep<br>gouge, broad<br>gouge                 |   | Fair: thick corrosion;<br>slight erosion                           |   | 25.58 |
| 44  | Minor: cuts,<br>many;                                      |   | Fair: thick corrosion;<br>slight erosion                           |   | 22.27 |
| 45  | Major: Cut; large<br>irregular facet                       |   | Fair: thick corrosion;<br>slight erosion                           | Sprue snip up, faint  | 27.49 |
| 46  |  | Massive striated band;<br>dome top; flat<br>irregular base possibly<br>from wadded firing | Fair: medium corrosion;<br>no erosion                              |   | 11.22 |
| 47  | Minor: cuts; facet   | Drum with<br>asymmetrical opposed<br>facets, possibly lower<br>is firing facet; ODD       | Fair: thick corrosion;<br>slight erosion                           |   | 20.14 |
| 48  | Minor: cut;  |   | Fair: thick corrosion;<br>slight erosion                           | Sprue snip up; mould<br>ridge                                     | 8.19  |
| 49  | Massive (weight<br>loss?)                                  |   | Fair: thick corrosion;<br>slight erosion                           |   | 9.05  |
| 50  | Massive: cut;<br>facet                                     |   | Fair: thick corrosion;<br>slight erosion                           |   | 24.69 |
| 51  | Massive  | Slight banding  | Fair: thick corrosion;<br>slight erosion                           | Sprue snip down   | 29.28 |
| 52  | Massive (soil<br>impact facet?);<br>cuts                   |   | Fair: thick corrosion;<br>slight erosion                           |   | 29.27 |
| 56  | <i>Possible bullet:<br/>Massive impact</i>                 |   | <i>Fair: thick corrosion;<br/>slight erosion</i>                   |   | 20.38 |
| 57  | Minor: wide cuts;  | Band 40%;<br>compressed lower<br>hemisphere;  | Irregular slightly pitted<br>surface - ODD                         |   | 28.68 |
| 58  | Cuts; gouges;  | Slight band? Pitted<br>lower hemisphere?  | Fair: thick corrosion;<br>slight erosion                           |   | 27.12 |
| 60  | Minor: Faint cuts  |   | Fair: thick corrosion;<br>slight erosion                           | Sprue snip up; slight<br>mould ridge                              | 9.57  |
| 62  | Major: irregular<br>facet; cut                             | Slight band   | Fair: thick corrosion;<br>slight erosion                           |   | 28.36 |
| 63  | Minor: cuts  | Irregular possibly<br>melted surface:<br>unlikely to be Case<br>shot; ODD                 | Fair: thick corrosion;<br>slight erosion                           |   | 19.77 |
| 64  | Cut  |   | Fair: thick corrosion;<br>slight erosion                           | Sprue snip down   | 19.92 |
| 144 | Minor: cut?  |   | Fair: thick corrosion;<br>erosion                                  | Major sprue snip down;<br>high mould ridge;<br>irregular casting? | 3.99  |
| 145 | <i>Probable bullet:<br/>Massive: sphere<br/>distortion</i> |   | <i>Bad: Thick corrosion;<br/>bobbles, pitting and<br/>erosion;</i> |   | 9.76  |
| 146 | Minor: cuts  | 4 indistinct facets with<br>melting – possible<br>case shot                               | Fair: thick corrosion;<br>slight erosion                           |   | 39.14 |
| 147 | Modern damage  |   | Poor: Fair: thick<br>corrosion; erosion;                           |   | 26.2  |
| 148 | Massive: facet;<br>sphere distortion;<br>small cuts;       |   | Fair: thick corrosion;<br>slight erosion                           |   | 25.27 |
| 149 | Minor: cuts  |   | Fair: thick corrosion;   | Sprue snip down; faint  | 28.1  |

|     |   |   |   |   |       |
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|     |   |   | erosion   | mould ridge   |       |
| 150 | Major: distorted sphere; cuts                               |   | Fair: thick corrosion; erosion                        | Mould offset;   | 19.35 |
| 151 | Massive: irregular facet; cuts                              |   | Fair: thick corrosion; erosion                        |   | 29.21 |
| 152 | Major: irregular facet; cuts; modern damage                 |   | Fair: thick corrosion; slight erosion                 |   | 24.48 |
| 153 | Massive: large facet with striation                         | Irregular large rounded facets on rectilinear munition – probable case shot | Fair: thick corrosion; erosion                        |   | 23.42 |
| 154 | Massive: facet; cuts;                                       | Possible band   | Fair: medium corrosion; slight erosion                |   | 26.23 |
| 155 | Minor: cuts; facet?; modern gouge;                          |   | Poor: thick corrosion; extensive erosion              |   | 21.13 |
| 156 | Minor: cuts   | 4 slight rounded facets – possibly case shot                                | Fair: thick corrosion; erosion                        |   | 19.56 |
| 157 | Major: impact facet?; cuts; gouges                          | Opposed double facet – may be partly firing evidence - ODD                  | Fair: thick corrosion; slight erosion                 |   | 26.43 |
| 158 | Minor: cut; opposing facets – uncertain origin<br>DIFFICULT |   | Medium corrosion; erosion with probable fragmentation | Possibly burred but probably damage;  | 23.12 |
| 159 | Major: sphere distortion; gouges; cuts                      | Band 30% circumference  | Fair: thick corrosion; erosion                        |   | 28.99 |
| 160 | Minor: small gouges;  |   | Fair: thick corrosion; slight erosion                 | major snip down; slight mould ridge; extreme equator ridge – could this be a 90 degree sprue mould? ODD | 26.85 |
| 161 | Major: distorted sphere; cuts;                              | Possible band   | Fair: thick corrosion; slight erosion                 |   | 23.51 |
| 162 | Major: distorted sphere; cut, small gouges                  | Possible lower hemisphere radial melt;                                      | Fair: thick corrosion; slight erosion                 |   | 25.74 |
| 163 | Major: sphere distortion; facet;                            | Possible striated band  | Fair: thick corrosion; slight erosion                 |   | 24.6  |
| 164 | Major: sphere distortion; cuts                              |   | Fair: thick corrosion; slight erosion                 |   | 26.04 |
| 165 | Massive: striated facet; spalling?                          |   | Fair: medium corrosion; slight erosion                |   | 22.42 |
| 166 | Major: 3 facets (or case shot facets)                       | DIFFICULT: MIGHT BE CASE SHOT   | Fair: thick corrosion; erosion; modern damage         | Sprue snip down, major;   | 28.85 |
| 167 | Massive: double facet;                                      |   | Fair: thick corrosion; slight erosion                 |   | 26.28 |
| 168 | Minor: facet?   |   | Fair: medium corrosion                                | Major sprue snip down; mould ridge; large moulding fault; latitudinal lines                             | 22.84 |
| 169 | Massive: facet, swaged & spalled;                           |   | Fair: medium corrosion; erosion                       | Mould ridge   | 24.2  |
| 171 | Minor: cut  |   | Fair: thick corrosion; slight erosion                 | Heavily bitten?; irregular misshapen sphere   | 19.75 |
| 172 | Massive: facet; modern damage; cuts and slight pitting      |   | Fair: thick corrosion; slight erosion                 |   | 31.13 |
| 173 |   |   | Bad: pitted, fragmenting<br>DIFFICULT                 |   | 22.93 |

|     |  |  |   |                                     |       |
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| 174 | Massive: facet with spalling; cuts                             |  | Fair: thick corrosion; slight erosion                           |                                     | 23.72 |
| 175 | Massive: facet swaged & striated; gouge                        |  | Good: thin corrosion;   |                                     | 30.27 |
| 176 | Minor: gouge?  |  | Bad: thick corrosion; erosion; fragmentation; irregular surface |                                     | 26.02 |
| 177 | Minor: cuts  |  | Fair: thick corrosion; slight erosion                           | Sprue snip down; mould ridge        | 18.02 |
| 178 |  |  | poor: thick corrosion; bobbled, pitting, erosion                | Sprue snip up; slight mould ridge   | 19.58 |
| 179 | Minor: cuts; possible sphere distortion                        |  | Fair: thick corrosion; erosion                                  | Sprue snip up; faint mould ridge    | 18.81 |
| 180 | Minor: cuts?   |  | Fair: thick corrosion; erosion                                  | Sprue snip down; slight mould ridge | 22.34 |
| 196 | <i>Possible bullet: Massive: opposing faces – asymmetrical</i> |  | <i>Fair: thick corrosion; erosion</i>                           |                                     | 3.33  |

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Foard, G. 2008 'Integrating the physical and documentary evidence for battles and their context: A Case Study from 17th Century England' In *PhD in Centre of East Anglian Studies* University of East Anglia, Norwich.